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Introduction

Professional communicators work on international and intercultural projects in dynamic assemblages. Recent scholarship has defined assemblages as powerful institutional, cultural, and material configurations that affect life and work in diverse situational contexts or geographies. For example, Stephen J. Collier (2006) described global assemblages as "actual configurations through which global forms of techno-science, economic rationalism, and other expert systems gain significance" (p. 400). Likewise, about the instrumentalist logic behind such systems, Dale L. Sullivan (1990) asked us to critique "the technological mindset" and allow critical action to inform technical and professional communication practice (pp. 375-377). In international and intercultural professional communication (IIPC), Angela Haas (2012) critiqued technological, racial, and rhetorical assemblages complicit in many dominant forms of professional communication (pp. 290-292). And, although Godwin Agboka (2012) accurately critiqued large-scale definitions and approaches to culture in IIPC for their neglect of more finely grained understandings of culture in local environments (p. 161), larger systems—even assemblages—also benefit from fine-grained interpretations that enhance awareness of what many marginalized cultural communities are up against, even at the community level. In that vein, in a separate article I analyzed g/local administrative assemblages in IIPC, theorizing that emancipatory *counter assemblages*, though systemic as well, could provide some resistance to the more instrumentalist assemblages of government, industry, and education (Mattson 2015). More work is yet needed, however, to problematize the role assemblages play in IIPC practice, and to examine, as well, this theory of counter assemblages. To that end, this article points to the *ethno-cultural assemblage* of early 20th-century U.S. Finnish émigrés as a context for a wayward PR campaign that, in confusing advocacy with emancipation, led some U.S. Finnish émigrés to their own deaths in a far away place. For one survivor, this

outcome prompted archival research and translation of a record of work that would recover truth in the language of many of the victims.

Family history as my gateway into the U.S. Finnish Émigrés' ethno-cultural assemblage

On Monday, April 25, 1910, the headline on an inside page of the *Duluth Evening Herald* read: "INJURIES ARE FATAL Workman Hit By Northern Pacific Train Dies in Hospital. Lives More Than a Week With a Fractured Skull" (emphases in original). Below the headline, reportage covered the facts of the demise of a recent Finnish émigré, Matt Mattson:

> Matt Mattson, laborer, 60 years old, died last night at St. Mary's hospital from a fractured skull, sustained in an accident Friday afternoon, April 15, when he was struck in the head by a train at Sixty-third avenue west. Mattson was employed at the blast furnace of Zenith Furnace company as a common laborer and lived with his son… He is also survived by a wife residing in Finland and two daughters…
>
> Members of the train crew state that the man was hard of hearing and was short sighted. This statement is confirmed by relatives and friends of the dead man. It is thought that he did not see the closely approaching train, but instinctively stopped for a moment by the track before he attempted to cross over. (p. 11)

This reportage reveals a world that many Finnish émigrés—in this example, my own great-great grandfather—faced as laborers in an English-dominant context where their safety as non-English speaking immigrants was seldom advocated. It was from this exploitative environment, as experienced 20 years later in the 1930s, that many U.S. Finnish émigrés left America for a utopian workers' paradise in Soviet Karelia. This en masse departure and the near-religious idealism of a socialist-communist PR campaign that prompted it, would lead to tragedy, the deaths of some of the sojourners during Stalin's 1937-1938 Purge, including of 141 U.S. Finnish émigrés at a mass grave in Sandarmokh, near Petrozavodsk, Soviet Karelia. In addition to examining aspects of the U.S. Finnish émigrés' ethno-cultural assemblage as factors in this great move, I look to Mayme Sevander's translation (2000) of a little-known KGB record of Finnish émigrés murdered at Sandarmokh. About work that I refer to variously as "the Death List of Sandarmokh" and "Mayme's List," I see emancipatory power in Mayme's translation of U.S. Finnish émigrés' names, including 141 from the U.S. Finnnish émigré community. As a child-survivor of the journey, and whose own father was lost to the Purge, Sevander (1923-2003) bridged that divide between personal tragedy and professional necessity to translate the Finnish émigrés' names and information from the Russian of the KGB archives to the Finnish of their lived experience. Thus, the Death List of Sandarmokh is Mayme's List, the central artifact of analysis in this article.

The U.S. Finnish Émigrés' ethno-cultural assemblage

The U.S. Finnish Émigrés' ethno-cultural assemblage in early-20th-century America was both a promising and problematic milieu informed by the geography of Finland and greater Karelia. Independent on December 6, 1917, soon after the Bolshevik Revolution in nearby

St. Petersburg[1], Russia, Finland contained a significant portion of greater Karelia, though not all of it. Of the winners and losers at the Paris Peace Treaty that closed out World War II, Finland, then an Axis nation, lost much of its portion of Karelia to the Soviet Union [now Russia] (Browning & Joenniemi, 2014, pp. 1, 17). Given this contested geography, it helps to remember that the U.S. and Canadian Finnish emigrés left for a pre-war 1930s Soviet Karelia that was, for the most part, already outside Finland prior to a series of Soviet incursions and subsequent border wars; namely, the Winter War of 1939-1940 (see Gardner, 2011, p. 40) and the Continuation War of 1941-1944 (see Tilli, 2014).

In Outi Fingerroos' view,

> Karelia has always been an essential part of Finnish nationalism. It is a site for both revolutionary and peaceful nationalism, and it has been regarded as the source of both the mythical past and benefits to the country as a whole. According to this ideology, Finland constitutes an epicenter and Karelia is located in the periphery. (2008, p. 248)

Is it any wonder that many 1930s U.S. Finnish émigrés advanced socialist-communist ideals that cast this "periphery" as a utopia?

Karelian Technical Aid (KTA): A brief history

As an ethno-cultural assemblage, the U.S. Finnish émigré milieu amplified, among some U.S. Finnish émigrés, a near-religious belief—a socialist-communist pseudo-belief—more simply, "belief" (in quotation marks)—in a 1930s Soviet Karelia as a "workers' paradise" (Gelb, 1993, p. 1096) or "Promised Land" (Gelb, 1993, p. 1105; Galaktinova, 2009, pp. 34-35). As ground for the Karelian Technical Aid (KTA) PR campaign that historians said attracted many U.S. Finnish émigrés to 1930s Soviet Karelia (Haynes & Klehr, 2003, pp. 115-119), this historical assemblage invites contextual rhetorical analysis of its outcomes at the time. In particular, the assemblage facilitated the tragic spread of that uncritical socialist-communist "belief," which relied on the "recruiting speeches" of KTA leaders and positive word-of-mouth among the socialist-communist faithful[2]. This dynamic resulted in the failure to focus on or listen to the critical questions that might have helped the community consider the real-world risks that awaited their number in Soviet Karelia. However unintentionally, therefore, the KTA PR campaign leadership exploited socialist-communist "belief" through targeted efforts within the broader context of the U.S. Finnish émigré assemblage.

Alexey Golubev and Irina Takala (2014) referred to this organization, KTA, as the Karelian Technical Aid Committee, or KTAC. In this article, I follow Sevander's (2000) approach,

[1] Tepora's (2015) overview of the Finnish civil war highlighted key moments after Finland's declaration of independence. Fought between Finnish Bolshevist "Red Guards" and the new state's civilian "White Guards," German backing of the "Whites" ensured the dispute would have a role in the wider war—World War I.

[2] For more on how 1920s and 1930s Finns began to see Soviet Karelia as an alternative to a North American context that largely excluded them, see, for instance, Mayme Sevander's personal narratives, including *Red Exodus: Finnish-American Emigration to Russia* (1993) and *They Took My Father: Finnish Americans in Stalin's* Russia (2004); also see Lawrence and Sylvia Hokkanen's *Karelia: A Finnish-American Couple in Stalin's Russia, 1934-1941* (1991).

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abbreviating Karelian Technical Aid to KTA, or *Karjalan Teknillinen Apu* in Finnish (p. 63). Organizations of similar purpose included, among others, "Amtorg, the Soviet trade mission in New York" (Wiedenahmer, 2005, para. 12), "Karelian Work Cooperative" (Kostiainen, 1978, p. 164), and various other Canadian and U.S. organizations, such as Communist Party USA (CPUSA) and "Finnish Organization of Canada (aligned with the Canadian Communist Party)" (Haynes & Klehr, 2003, p. 115).

The social and human cost of KTA in the U.S. Upper Midwest was widely derided by other Finns, especially "church Finns," as "Karelian Fever" (Grossman, 1992). With Soviet assistance inspired by Edvard Gylling, a Finland-born émigré and political leader in Soviet Karelia, a KTAC office opened in New York on May 1, 1931 (see, for example, Golubev & Takala, 2014; Haynes, 2000; Haynes & Klehr, 2003; Sevander, 1993).

Besides its principal in-Karelia advocate Edvard Gylling, two of KTA's directors, Matti Tenhunen and Oskar Corgan, were executed and dumped in a mass grave at Sandarmokh. A third, Kalle Aronen, was executed but not listed among U.S. Finns in that particular mass grave (see, for example, Haynes & Klehr, 2003; Galaktionova, 2009; Gelb, 1993; Golubev & Takala, 2014; "Karelian Fever," n.d.; Sevander, 2000; Ziegeweid, 2002).
The sheer scale of the crime is at least partially acknowledged. On a Russian-to-Finnish and Russian-to-English website, Andrew Heinen (n.d.) gave this account of what took place at Sandarmokh: "from August 11, 1937 to December 24, 1938 more than 9500 people of 58 nationalities were executed by shooting and buried there: Russians, Karelians, Finns, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Tatars, Udmurts, Jewish, Gypsies, Germans, Polish and other nationalities" (para. 2). From among the many unaccounted, a list of North American Finnish émigrés emerged, including the 141 U.S. Finnish émigrés killed at Sandarmokh (Sevander, 2000; Haynes & Klehr, 2003).

Following the progression from the status of socialist-communist faithful in the U.S. to victims of Stalin's Purges at Sandarmokh in Soviet Karelia, this article presents Sevander's translation of the official KGB list as a type of emancipatory grassroots IIPC. Perhaps Sevander's translated list of 141 U.S. Finnish émigrés killed at Sandarmokh is best made accessible to IIPC scholars in Spivakean terms. As practice, Sevander's approach to translating the list fits the pattern of Gayatri Spivak's emancipatory "reading the [British East India] archives" for details about the indigenous Rani of Sirmur in British India (1985, pp. 247-272). Much as Spivak theorized to *read the* [colonial-era] *archives* and look for details in the absence of information about the Rani, Sevander, through her research and translation of the KGB archives, can be seen to have returned something of cultural value and power to the Finnish émigré community—truth, evidence, memory… even Finnish émigré identity. Thus, through Sevander's practicable act of translating Russian into Finnish, a little-known KGB list was transformed from a cold record of those the Soviet state had marginalized and discarded—at first physically and later in the archives—to a meaningful published memorial of the lost names of a wronged people.

Recognizable as an IIPC work, Mayme's List becomes, also, a Finnish ethno-cultural recovery of Stalin-ordered Soviet state crimes against humanity—the false accusations, the false arrests, and the state-sanctioned murders at Sandarmokh. As IIPC scholars and practitioners, we can inform our future ethical practices when we acknowledge these terrible histories and study the systems and practices that allowed—and still allow—world powers to categorize, control, and destroy. This is the core value of Sevander's list; it is an example of personal research and wider publication that serves as a touchstone for IIPC reflection, analysis, and practice. To speak of the Death List of Sandarmokh for just a moment in very personal terms, it is Mayme's List in that her translation awakens us to the humanity of the murdered individuals, through their own ethno-culturally original names. Here, I agree fully with Steven B. Katz (1992), acknowledging as Katz argued that the documents of a state cannot be good solely for being thorough, efficient, or "expedient" (e.g., 264) in the way that Hitler's SS, Stalin's NKVD, or some other secret police has documented its atrocities. There is something emancipatory in Sevander's translating and publishing an otherwise stark and dismal record of wrongs done to a people in that people's own language, Finnish. Put another way, Sevander recovered the Finnish and Finland-Swedish names of the dead from Russified KGB records, reestablishing for Finnish ethno-cultural memory—in Finland, the U.S., and worldwide—a measure of dignity that official storage in old archives had, much as the mass grave at Sandarmokh, buried.

Geographies and rhetorics of "belief" with Kalevalan Hope

While a healthy dose of critical historical analysis grounds much professional communication literature (e.g., Connors, 1982; Dombrowski, 1994; Katz, 1992 & 1993; Kynell, 1999; Kynell & Tebeaux, 2009; Staples, 1999), recent IIPC historiography has addressed both threat and risk to human populations in a wide variety of complex contexts. For example, Haas (2012) articulated an "assemblage of race, rhetoric, and technology" as a history of oppression in technical communication practice and pedagogy, identifying areas where critical and intentional effort might offer a more just future in technical communication work and education (pp. 277-310). Likewise, Lucia Durá, Arvind Singhal, and Eliana Elías (2013) described the power of "jungle-reaching radio stations" to offer "participatory," and thus community-centric programming, that supports the aspirations of indigenous communities in the rainforests of Peru (pp. 33-54). And taking a close look at the Deepwater Horizon oil spill as a human-environmental tragedy rife with different methods and approaches toward risk management, Erin Frost (2013) observed how stakeholders' locations (i.e., proximity to the disaster) informed their various modes of communication—some successful and others failed—on the tragedy (e.g., pp. 50-51). Indeed, the work of IIPC historiography covers moments and outcomes of disaster, as accomplished in Frost's work, to the span of multi-year projects, as in Haas' and Durá, Singhal, and Elías' separates studies. They even cover the records of war. For example, Marcy Leasum Orwig (2014) researched U.S. World War I operation reports as a genre with conventions that gained in complexity during wartime, revealing more formally developed conventions as the war progressed (e.g., pp. 41-46). And Mark Ward (2014) analyzed wartime documents in his study of multiple professional communication documents (e.g.,

letters, field reports, memos, telegrams, and proposals) tied to Nazi crimes of the holocaust (see, for example, pp. 110-129).

Seeing socialist-communist ideology as a "belief" that many U.S. Finnish émigrés of the time espoused, I link Sevander's emancipatory work in "reading the archives" to three historical factors: (1) her father Oskar Corgan's direct involvement in the spread of socialist-communist ideology in North America, (2) her place as a child of the socialist-communist sojourn to Soviet Karelia and lifelong advocate, until her death, to its idealistic premises, and (3) her ethno-cultural connection to the larger U.S. Finnish émigré assemblage worldwide. This milieu comprised, in addition to the larger group of ethnic Finns, a good number of Finland-Swedes as well. In fact, Anders M. Myhrman (1957) placed this subgroup's number at approximately 45,000 of the estimated 310,000 Finns that arrived in the U.S. from 1880 to 1931. And Arnold A. Alanen (2012), in his *Finns in Minnesota*, described the Finland-Swedes as "a minority within a minority" that "most North Americans had trouble distinguishing . . . from Swedish or Finnish immigrants" (p. 92). Such ethno-cultural traces, Sevander's as well as others, can serve as gateways to IIPC historiographies that see peoples' histories and individuals' stories as relevant paths toward greater ethical action in the many cultural worlds that we, as IIPC scholars and practitioners, inhabit. Sometimes it takes someone outside the formal IIPC community to exemplify in their work the breadth of practice in emancipatory IIPC work. As I contend, Mayme through her List does just that. Originally published in Finnish, her work *Vaeltajat* (2000)—in English, *The Wanderers*—includes a much longer list of names. Based on Mayme's published list in that work, of murdered and surviving Finnish émigrés, and with permission of the text's publisher, Siirtolaisuusinstituutti (the Migration Institute of Finland), I have provided an adaptation of Mayme's work in the Appendix. This shortened list of 141 U.S. Finnish émigrés killed at Sandarmokh is what I have called alternatively the Death List of Sandarmokh or Mayme's List.

Divergent geographies: "The Range," Soviet Karelia, and the mass grave at Sandarmokh

Rhetorically symbolic as North American Finnish émigrés' utopian dream—a 1930s "workers' paradise" (Gelb, 1993, p. 1096) and "Promised Land" (Gelb, 1993, p. 1105; Galaktinova, 2009, pp. 34-35)—Soviet Karelia was for émigrés near religious in its value as a geography or place of emancipation. Analyzing protest movements, Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook (2011) characterized the symbolic rhetorical power of place as both "the rhetorical force of place" and "the rhetoricity of place" (p. 258). They observed,

> Place-based arguments discursively invoke images or memories of a place to support an argument, such as summoning the melting of the arctic as a reason to stop global warming, and make salient that dominant place meanings are sometimes linked to systems of power that discourage protest. (p. 258)

Though Soviet Karelia was not itself a site of protest, U.S. Finnish émigrés viewed it, despite its troubled real-world conditions, as a utopia that called them away from ethno-cultural

and economic hardship on "the Range," which was a prominent North American geography of departure for many U.S. Finnish émigrés who left for Soviet Karelia.

"The Range"

As a term, "the Range"[3] of the U.S. Upper Midwest holds diverse geographical connotations for those that live there. While some may disagree that the term's usage would apply to Michigan's Upper Peninsula, published precedent allows this designation. For instance, Arthur W. Thurner (1984) used the term colloquially in *Rebels on the Range*, a history of the 1913-1914 miners' strike in Michigan's Copper Country. Risking similar overgeneralization, I apply the term to Michigan's Copper Country and the span of Lake Superior iron ranges. These include, in Michigan: the Marquette Range, Iron River–Crystal Falls, and Menominee Range; in Michigan and Wisconsin: the Gogebic Range; in Minnesota: the Cuyuna Ranges (near my father's birthplace), the Vermillion Range, the Mesabi Range and, spanning the U.S.-Canadian border from Minnesota, the Gunflint Range (Cannon, 2011). This articulation of "the Range" forms a working geography of the most radical communities of the U.S. Finnish émigrés' ethno-cultural assemblage in America. According to Arnold A. Alanen (1991), "Finns would emerge as the most militant of the region's nationality groups" from the early 1890s through the early 1900s (p. 252). He also stated,

> An increasing number of speakers who preached the gospel of socialism began to appear on the range during the summer of 1904. Anticapitalistic viewpoints did not suddenly appear in northeastern Minnesota at this time, of course: ever since the 1880s labor-rights advocates, intellectuals, and political reformers had been discussing Socialist ideas with increasing frequency throughout America." (p. 259)

Material assemblages: U.S. Finnish Émigrés' built environments

About "the Iron Range," in the Minnesota portion of "the Range," Britt Aamodt (2013) described communal Finn halls, temperance halls, Finnish workingmen's halls, socialist halls, and even the Socialist Opera House at Virginia, Minnesota. Aamodt portrayed such material spaces as ethno-cultural sites for community life, including temperance activities, socialist plays and storytelling, and a variety of other pastimes such as dancing, music, and boxing. Concerning the communal work ethic of Finnish communities across the wider Finnish ethno-cultural geography in Canada and the U.S., Carl Ross (1988) said,

> by dint of hard labor—supplemented by work on railroads, in mines, and lumber camps and by community effort and shared work—communities, schools, cooperative stores, churches, and Finn Halls were built; they became models of what Finns could do to establish prosperous communities, develop a new Finnish-American culture, and create a distinct way of life in ethnic enclaves that retained their own values even in the midst of the dominant American culture. (p. 482)

[3] Kathryn Remlinger, a linguist studying dialects of Michigan's Upper Peninsula (UP), has not personally "observed" instances of UP residents referring to UP areas as "the Range," but in a follow-up message she noted "there's a possibility that some UP residents might refer to the area as 'the Range'" (personal communications, February 8 and February 29, 2016).

Besides the Finn halls and similar social spaces, there were also radical Finnish printing presses (Palmer, 2007, pp. 145-146; Ross, 1988). All told, these built environments gave North American Finnish émigrés the cultural freedom to promote, especially in early years of Finnish immigration, the vibrant blend of Finnish activism that many still associate with the Upper Midwest (Kostiainen, 2007; Palmer, 2007; Weidenhamer, 2005) and Canada (Weidenhamer, 2005).

Writing about Finn halls and the Finnish-language printing presses, Bryan D. Palmer (2007) explained, "No group was, perhaps, as financially secure as the Finnish communists, who controlled more than 60 halls, a printing plant, a Workers' College, cooperative businesses, and a number of newspapers, including the influential *Tyomies*" (pp. 145-146). And because many North American Finns also strived against widespread, racist theories about Finnish origins and ethnicity, KTA's use of these ethno-cultural sites to advocate for Soviet Karelia as a new cultural home for struggling Finnish workers is not surprising. Facing dual threats from mechanization (Rubyan-Ling, 1998, p. 51) and racial-purity extremism (Kivisto & Leinonen, 2011, p. 14, 18-19), U.S. Finns sought identity through "Red," or Socialist/Communist, songs and educational facilities, even workers' colleges (e.g., Volk, 2014, para. 1, 8). A confluence of industry control, industrial unionism, and racial divisiveness corresponded with painful collective memories, as when 16 Finnish immigrants experienced legal challenges to their U.S. citizenship applications on questions of whether they were white (Kivisto & Leinonen, 2011, pp. 11-12). Reflecting on the early 1900s, Linguist K. Harris (2015) observed, "Some argued that Finns were Asian, meaning they should be barred from citizenship [U.S. citizenship] under the Asian Exclusion Act of the early 1900s. The word 'Finlander' was used as a slur, along with 'China Swede' and 'roundhead'" (para. 12).

Immigrant assemblages: Proximity and emergence of a regional ethic

In an interview for *Inforum*, the online counterpart to Fargo's daily newspaper *Forum*, Bruce Maylath gave a brief overview of the Norwegian notion of "dugnad," which he said is a behavioral principle or ethic that many Scandinavian immigrants expect of each other (see my qualifier in a moment about the challenges of applying this Scandinavian ideal to all U.S. Finnish émigrés). Maylath acknowledged that the word did not take root in North Dakota and Minnesota, but the communal ethic is felt in the regional culture. In fact, Maylath is quoted as saying "dugnad is this idea that everybody in any given town, school or organization will pitch in regularly for a community service project" (Burgess, "Fargo Author Explores 'ND Nice' in New Book"). Additionally, Maylath and Abigail Bakke (2013) reviewed Jean M. Twenge and W. Keith Campbell's *The Narcissism Epidemic: Living in the Age of Entitlement* (2009, New York: Free Press), summarizing the scholars' connecting the "Scandinavian 'Law of Jante'" with "'Minnesota Nice'" or "'North Dakota Nice,'" including its notable qualities of politeness and its, at times, less welcoming aloofness (p. 465), aspects of cultural inclusion and distance that would no doubt have played out in a much stronger way among the early Scandinavian immigrant populations, even in their interactions with Finnish—i.e, wider Nordic— immigrant populations on the Range. Thus, I turn to that

promised disclaimer… about the challenges of applying any Scandinavian behavioral ethic to all U.S. Finnish émigrés. We must take great care in applying one culture's behavioral ethic to another. Certainly, the long history between Swedes and Finns, as between Russians and Finns, was not always pleasant. The historical geopolitics exceed the scope of this paper, so I will simply address the dynamic anecdotally with an example from my own family. The cultural landscape of the Range and rural areas nearby was one where Swedish and Finnish émigrés—and especially Swedish-speaking Finland-Swedes and majority Finnish-speaking Finns—interacted and, despite the many biases towards each other, influenced each other. For example, in my Finland-Swedish family there was intermarriage between Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking Finns within a decade after that sojourn to the East (Soviet Karelia). In fact, this small Finland-Swedish population in Minnesota was the progeny of an early church-going group of "'seventeen immigrant Finland-Swedes" that Alanen described in his history (2012, p. 86). More recently, Alanen confirmed that that rural Finland-Swedish group he described comprised my forbears, and that he knew many of their descendants—U.S. Finns with Swedish- and Finnish-speaking backgrounds (personal communication, 24 August 2016). Many of these relatives are now buried in the primarily "Swedish" (i.e., Finland-Swedish) cemetery beside a rural lake or else interred in a mainly Finnish (i.e., Finnish-speaking Finns') cemetery down the road. In death as in life, their worlds are right next door. Returning to Maylath's point about "dugnad" and Maylath and Bakke's overview of Twenge and Campbell's commentary on the "Law of Jante," including its elements of politeness and aloofness in North Dakota and Minnesota, these are regional admixtures that the U.S. Finnish émigrés, within an ethno-cultural milieu of Scandinavian and Finnish immigrants, would have known intensely. Thus, it is not unreasonable to perceive the entire Soviet Karelian endeavor as a kind of—to borrow Maylath's phrasing—"community service project" that went awry.

Socialist-communist "belief"

An emancipatory translation of the official KGB record of murdered U.S. Finnish émigrés, the Death List of Sandarmokh is inexorably linked to the power of U.S. Finnish émigrés' socialist-communist "belief" in Soviet Karelia as a symbolic geography somehow distinct from the actual Soviet Karelia with its inherent Stalinist risks. Such "belief" prompted many U.S. Finnish émigrés to listen to KTA PR, not least to its leaders' public talks in Finn halls, workers' colleges, and other places of North American Finnish life. According to Michael Gelb (1993, p. 1092) and Joy Ziegeweid (2002), the KTA played an active role in attracting the North American portion of some 17,000 ethnic Finns who would leave for Soviet Karelia from the U.S., Canada, and Finland during the early 1930s. On the actual number from the U.S., sources disagree. One estimated that 6,000 Finns arrived from North America (Lam, 2010) while another credited that number to just the U.S. contingent of North American Finns (Grossman, 1992).

According to Sevander, her own father, Oskar Corgan, while a leader of the KTA in America, gave a Finnish-language rendition of the following:

> Karelia …needs strong workers who know how to chop trees and dig ore and build houses and grow food. Isn't that what we Finns have been doing in the United States for the past thirty years? And wouldn't it be wonderful to do the same work in a country that needs you, a country where there is no ruling class, no rich industrialists or kings or czars to tell you what to do? Just workers toiling together for the common good. (qtd. in Weidenhamer, 2005, para. 10)

And the U.S. Finnish émigrés, as Sevander noted, contributed to this rhetoric as well, publishing in the U.S. Finnish-language press their heartfelt thoughts on departure for an idealized Soviet Karelia:

> We the undersigned, leaving behind this country of capitalistic exploitation, are headed for the Soviet Union where the working class is in power and where it is building a socialistic society. We appeal to you, comrades, who are staying behind, to rally around communist slogans, to work efficiently to overthrow capitalism and create the foundation of a Republic of Labor. (qtd. in Weidenhamer, 2005, para. 12)

Thus, socialist-communist "belief" was well integrated into the U.S. Finnish émigrés' ethno-cultural assemblage.

On the one hand, such "belief" pointed forward to socially just outcomes for U.S. Finnish émigrés, but on the other it broke that promise, unable to prevent the end result, the mass graves and, through Sevander's emancipatory work many decades later, the Death List of Sandarmokh. While IIPC scholars may wonder how "belief" (or belief) works—or does not work—to secure advocatory goals, some practical follow-up questions for IIPC practitioners are these:

1. What are the central differences between advocacy and emancipation goals?
2. Closely related, what distinctions, if any, can be made between goals of advocacy and goals of emancipation in "belief"- or belief-based IIPC projects? Are there times when these goals converge and other times when these goals diverge?
3. What strategies might frame "belief" or belief so that apparent divergences between goals of advocacy and goals of emancipation are resolved in ways that lead IIPC practitioners to consider the real-world risks that face any IIPC advocacy project that also seeks some form of emancipation?
4. In what ways, if any, can "belief"- or belief-motivated IIPC practitioners recognize and then resolve conflicts of interest at the intersection of their commitments to often complex advocacy and emancipation goals?

While I merely pose these questions in light of the clear conflicts that the KTA PR campaign practitioners faced in that early IIPC project, I presume that asking such questions is an important first step for any practitioner whose work invokes rhetorics of "belief" or belief.

In what follows, Stanley Fish (2002) described "[a]cts of validation," which I locate at the heart of contextual rhetorical analysis of the émigrés' "belief" in Soviet Karelia as a symbolic geography for their aspirations. Fish writes,

> Acts of validation can always be performed, but they will be performed inside a form of life or practice that (a) floats free of any anchoring tether in some independent reality, and (b) is always in the process of altering itself in the very act of applying itself. (xii)

Later in the essay, Fish contrasted the competing claims of Satan and the Archangel Michael in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, asserting, "So much is clear, but what is not clear, and could not be clear according to Milton, is which of the two stories is really, as opposed to perspectivally or narratively, true" (xvi). Much like that Miltonian battle royale, the KTA PR campaign of socialist-communist "belief," as with more traditionally religious PR campaigns, can only appeal to an idea or ideal that, in Fish's phrasing, "floats free of any anchoring tether in some independent reality" (xii). Thus, IIPC practitioners that rely on such singular ideas or ideals are more susceptible to real-world risks because they do not easily consider the unintended. To identify the common problem of many "belief"- or belief-inspired PR campaigns, therefore, it's that *the devil is in the details* of what the discourse aims for in service to the hopes of the true believers. For U.S. Finnish émigrés, trust in a workers' paradise did not foresee or forestall the Stalinist threat in Soviet Karelia. The dark days at Sandarmokh were not predicted in the accepted narrative, sustained as it was through glossy KTA PR campaign efforts and positive word-of-mouth.

Kenneth Burke (1969) linked the power of symbols to "myths" that conflate intangible aspirations with the real—concrete outcomes (pp. 267-268). "'Myths,'" Burke asserted, "may be wrong, or they may be used to bad ends—but they cannot be dispensed with. In the last analysis, they are our basic psychological tools for working together" (p. 267). Communists, in Burke's view, cooperated together around the "the symbol of the worker" in place of "misused nationalism" (p. 268). And while Burke explained that these myths are hardly "'illusions'" for leading to real-world outcomes (p. 268)—I think of the departure of thousands of U.S. Finnish émigrés to Soviet Karelia, here—there does remain, as Burke acknowledged, "propaganda"—"the symbol […] as a device for spreading the areas of allegiance" (p. 268). In fact, Gelb characterized "the Karelian Autonomous Republic" (i.e., Soviet Karelia) as "a powerful red beacon signaling the happiness of the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union" (p. 1091). This inversion of a real geography into a near-mythological place in the minds of U.S. Finnish émigrés who had not yet been there follows a process that I associate with Burke's conception of "god-terms" (p. 112). Though "pure abstraction," such words—and, here, Burke mentioned "honor," "destiny," "freedom," and "fact," among other possibilities—prompt all manner of human activity through "'pure persuasion,'" which Burke described as "an absolute, logically prior to one persuasive act" (pp. 110, 151, 252, 306). If "pure abstraction" for U.S. Finnish émigrés was the mere notion of a worker's paradise, then the Karelian Autonomous Republic—Soviet Karelia—was,

prior to the émigrés' firsthand experience of it, a near-mythological geography that compelled just enough "belief" to prompt their en masse departure for that place.

Though not inherently religious, the U.S. Finnish émigrés left for a Soviet Karelia that was to them both mythic and mythical, a geography perceived to hold answers to their North American condition of ethno-cultural marginalization and economic struggle. Yet, in reality, Soviet Karelia was a Stalinist geography that would disillusion the émigrés' faith, an idealized expectation of an emancipated workers' paradise.

Kalevalan hope

Where were the seeds of that socialist-communist ideal? U.S. Finnish émigrés' shared ethnoculutural identity emerged from nativist trust in a cohesive Finnish geography that preexisted the independent Finnish state. Faith in a Finnish ethno-cultural identity as in a *time before time*—before Finnish independence—draws breath from the epic poem, the *Kalevala*, of linguist Elias Lönnrot. As William A. Wilson (1975) observed on the folklore that inspired Lönnrot's work,

> Some Finns felt this poetry to be an ancestral inheritance from the misty past, from the period of Balto-Finnic unity when the Finns, Karelians, and Ingrians had lived together as one people and before they had migrated to their present homelands, taking with them their language and folk poetry. (p. 143)

Published in 1835, Lönnrot's compilation of found poems and folk songs, from the countryside of Karelia and greater Finland, bore Finnish and Karelian indigenous and nationalist undertones that inspired Finnish consciousness and the drive for independence from Imperial Russia (and then from the early U.S.S.R.) (Wilson, 1975). The *Kalevala* also motivated Finnish socialist-communist movements at home [i.e., geographical Finland] (Wilson, 1975) and abroad—among U.S. Finnish émigrés, even in the United States (Ross, 1988). As it had for Finns imagining their own independence in Finland (Wilson, 1975), the *Kalevala* provided ethno-cultural pride and legitimacy to U.S. Finnish émigrés' shared vision of a utopian Soviet Karelia (Ross, 1988). As Ross explained, such meanings were in the sociopolitical air the U.S. ethnic Finns breathed in the early 1900s: "The *Kalevala* metaphor served to express a utopian vision for the American Finn even to the second generation" (p. 494). Christopher S. Browning and Pertti Joennieme (2014) argued that the idea of Karelia intertwines Finnish consciousness "as a mythical territory and soul of the nation" (p. 1). Thus, U.S. Finnish émigrés' socialist-communist "belief" as pseudo-religion depended on that Kalevalan spirit, not just on their commitment to socialist-communist ideals.

Mayme's list as grassroots IIPC

Arguably a grassroots IIPC project, Sevander's archival research and published list required both her fidelity to and resistance against the official KGB records at Petrozavodsk, Karelia, Russia [former Soviet Union]. As professional historians, John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr (2003) complimented Sevander for her "comprehensive work,"

crediting her respectfully not derogatively as "an amateur historian" (Haynes & Klehr, 2003, p. 275). Similarly, Sevander could be considered a grassroots professional communicator who, though isolated from formal IIPC training, conducted research and compiled a list that models for us rigorous emancipatory IIPC practice more than a decade after her death in 2003.

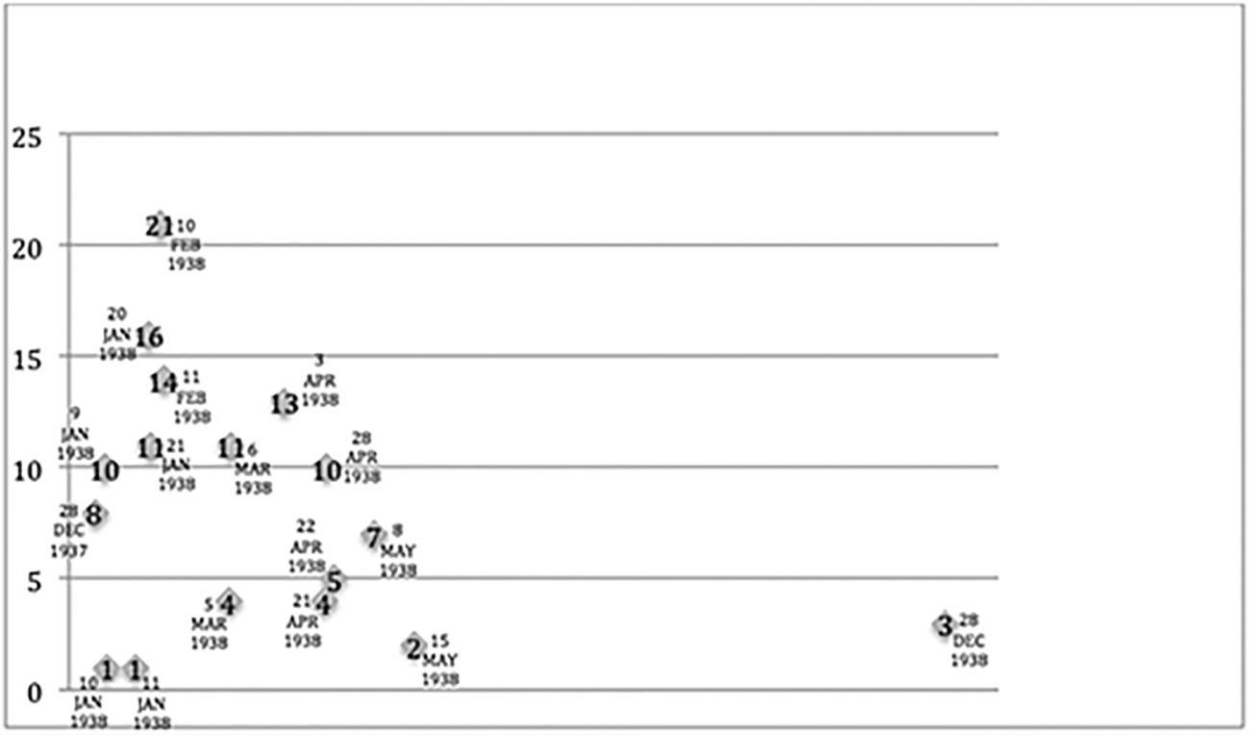
Consider, also, that Barry Thatcher (2006) as well as Thatcher and Victoriano Garza-Almanza (2008) observed that IIPC work often occurs of necessity in practice and context, rather than of extensive formal education or training. As emancipatory research of the ethno-culturally Finnish histories of peoples that the Soviet state murdered at Sandarmokh, Sevander's list exemplifies that grassroots reality, authenticating names of the remembered dead in the original Finnish and Finland-Swedish renderings of their owners. Thus, whatever her conscious intentions, Sevander recovered from the Russified KGB records at Petrozavodsk a portion of her own—and others'—ethno-cultural history once kept secret in the Soviet-era archives. There, Sevander learned what happened to her father and also translated into Finnish his and others' names and details.

Apart from Sevander's list of the 141 Finnish and Finland-Swedish names (2000), Haynes and Klehr (2003) compiled a Latinized Russian-language version patterned after the patronymic naming conventions of the original KGB records. As they explained, the KGB records added Russian patronymic names [in fact, patronymic middle names] alongside the surnames and given names of those murdered by Soviet secret police (p. 298). Thus, Mayme's father's name, "Corgan, Oskar Fredrik," became "Corgan, Oskar Fredrik Karlovitsh" (p. 235). Although Haynes and Klehr's list inserted Latinized patronymic middle names that ended in "-ovitsh" or "-ovich" for "son of," Haynes (n.d.) acknowledged that patronymics [again, patronymic middle names] "were not customary among North American Finns" (para. 2). In translating these middle-name patronymics into Finnish, therefore, Mayme's List remained true to the pattern of the formal KGB records while asserting a Finnish ethno-cultural identity. Mayme's father, Oskar Corgan, is represented in Mayme's List as "CORGAN, Oskar-Friedrich Kaarlonp." While the pattern aligns with the KGB-rendered patronymic middle name "Karlovitsch," I can confirm that the Finnish-rendered "Kaarlonp." is an abbreviation of "Kaarlonpoika," where the "n," meaning "of," precedes poika"—literally "boy"—to complete the patronymic suffix for "son of" in Finnish (C. Sundholm. personal communication, January 1, 2017). Certainly, other ethno-cultural factors emerge in the list of 141 U.S. Finnish émigrés killed at Sandarmokh, including the occasional Finland-Swedish surname, such as Arbelius, Grönlund, and Mattson [no relation to my family], among others (Sevander, 2000, pp. 181-225). As an example of the linguistic alternatives in this ethno-cultural landscape, a Finnish rendering of the Finland-Swedish émigré patronymic surname, Mattson (originally Mattsson in Sweden or Finland), would be "Matinpoika." And there are immigrant families that have inherited one or the other surname (B. Östling Randazzo, personal communication, January 1, 2017). At final analysis, Mayme's List serves as an artifact of ethno-cultural resistance to Russification, the Death List of Sandarmokh finding its emancipatory power in Sevander's "reading the archives" and translating into Finnish the original KGB record. As a memorial effort, therefore,

Mayme's List emancipates the remembered dead into a Finnish ethno-cultural frame of reference.

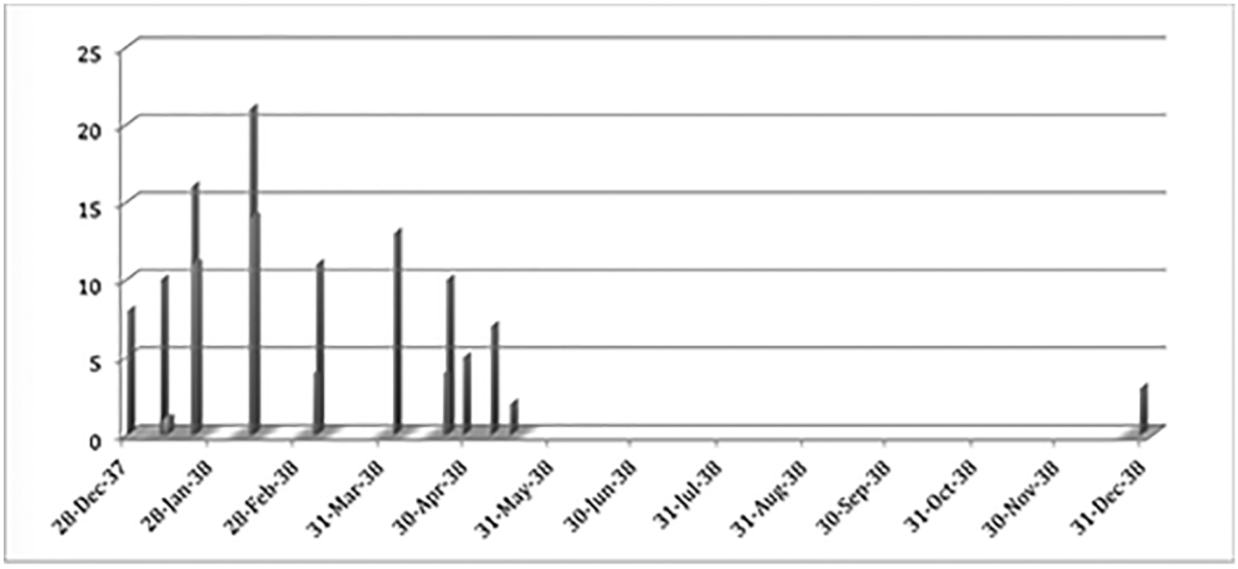
Seeing Sevander's 141

The scatter chart below shows the intensity of Stalin's crimes against Sevander's remembered 141 U.S. Finnish émigrés. Though a significant tragedy in its own right, it is also important to remember that this abbreviated list is just a portion of the total number of ethno-cultural Finnish émigrés and other peoples killed, incarcerated, or displaced during Stalin's 1937-1938 Purge in Soviet Karelia. The chart also reveals the number of U.S. Finnish émigrés known killed on specific dates. While most executions, as recorded in the KGB archive at Petrozavodsk, took place in spring 1938, another three occurred in late 1938.



Scatter Chart. Sevander's 141: Number of U.S. Finnish Émigrés known killed at Sandarmokh, Soviet Karelia (28 Dec 1937 - 28 Dec 1938).

The bar chart (next page) gives another visual perspective of the number of U.S. Finnish émigrés killed at Sandarmokh. The chart shows the increase in the number of Stalinist atrocities at Sandarmokh more clearly.



Column Chart. Sevander's 141: Trends in the Number of U.S. Finnish émigrés known killed at Sandarmokh, Soviet Karelia (28 Dec 1937 - 28 Dec 1938).

While depicting a dark and tragic history, these charts (above and previous page) complement the Death List of Sandarmokh (see Appendix), adding visual weight to, what I deem should be, an ongoing Finnish-language IIPC project solely dedicated to remembering the dead of Sandarmokh.

In fact, there is a Russian-language version of just such an online advocacy resource. Available at http://www.memo.ru/, the website it the work of Memorial, an advocacy group that not only raises awareness of Stalin's crimes but that is credited with finding the mass grave at Sandarmokh. As Haynes and Klehr (2003) described it,

> In 1997 a Russian organization dedicated to exposing Stalin-era crimes, Memorial, located a KGB burial site near Sandarmokh, one of four it has found in Karelia. The site contains more than nine thousand bodies in approximately three hundred separate burial trenches. (p. 117).

Though Memorial's work exceeds the scope of this article, their online portal certainly models the kinds of digital IIPC that past and ongoing crimes against humanity (e.g., in Aleppo, Syria) might lead to more and more.

Conclusion

Studying ethno-cultural assemblages is needed to inform our emancipatory IIPC work. As Haas (2012) explained, when professional communicators do not learn their own histories, they are far "less likely to advocate for the sustainability of others' cultures" (p. 285). In a manner instructive for IIPC work, Sevander followed such a path, recovering through a

process of emancipatory translation the ethno-cultural identities of the U.S. Finnish émigrés, publishing her list as a memorial to their number.

More research is yet needed on the value of ethno-cultural assemblages as emancipatory counter assemblages in IIPC work. Yet no vision of socially just futures in our practice is attainable without the commitments of scholars and practitioners to make official documentation like the KGB record of those killed at Sandarmokh available to the world. Additionally, to learn about our own personal histories as Sevander did may be a good starting point for IIPC emancipatory research involving ethno-cultural assemblages. Such efforts to learn about the ethno-cultural traces in our own families, including the larger historical moments that impacted them, serve as invitations to Paulo Freire's *conscientização*, or personal and collective consciousness-raising (1970/2009, p. 109), in our IIPC work. Ultimately, Sevander's emancipatory work in "reading the archives" was necessary to recover the identities of the 141 killed at Sandarmokh from Soviet-era officialdom, returning them to a Finnish linguistic frame of reference they would have been most comfortable with in life. In their time, the U.S. Finnish émigrés and their leaders (e.g., Mayme's father) had lost sight of the real-world risks that awaited their community in Stalinist Russia. That they pursued an idealized vision of the Soviet Karelian geography, one steeped in socialist-communist "belief" in a workers' paradise alongside older strains of Kalevalan hope, was their motivation that conflated, in dangerously naïve ways, advocacy and emancipation. Certainly, the best long-term lesson for IIPC scholarship and practice is to establish practices that, unlike the KTA PR campaign, lead people toward emancipation and away from unmitigated risk of harm. Sadly, for all its emancipatory value to the memories of the victims, Mayme's List is about recovery, an artifact of one person's archival research of a totalitarian state record of its own crimes against humanity.

I thank Jouni Korkiasaari, Information Service Manager of Siirtolaisuusinstituutti – Migration Institute of Finland, for generously approving extensive reference to portions of Sevander's list in the Appendix of this article. As the publisher of Sevander's *Vaeltajat* (2000), the institute maintains a vital interest in Sevander's work, as well as other research into the history of the Finnish diaspora worldwide.

Appendix

Table 1.

The Death List of Sandarmokh:
North American Finns executed by officials of Stalin's NKVD [pre-KGB era] secret police.

The names of the 141 U.S. Finnish émigrés killed at Sandarmokh are excerpted from Mayme Sevander's longer list of names published in *Vaeltajat* (2000). With some differences between this list and Haynes & Klehr (2003), I opted to follow Sevander's list primarily while also making clarifying notations based on information gathered from cross-referencing Sevander's list with Haynes and Klehr's list to the best of my ability. For example, though Sevander's list does not appear to show that Elvira Kaarlont. Filpus arrived in Soviet Karelia from the U.S. while Haynes and Klehr's list does reveal that detail. Last, where there are differences in alphabetization of last names, I follow Sevander's alphabetization.

Order on List	Mayme's Finnish List of Finnish and Finland-Swedish Names	Notes
1.	Aalto, Toimi Kallenp. (1913 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
2.	Björklund, Adolf (1878 – 22 Apr. 1938)	
3.	Björn, Eino Antoninp. (1912 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
4.	**Corgan, Oskar-Friedrich Kaarlonp.** (1887 – 9 Jan. 1938)	**Mayme Sevander's father.**
5.	Ekholm, Arvid Oskarinp. (1908 – 21 Jan. 1938)	
6.	Elo, Johan Kustaanp. (1889 – 21 Jan. 1938)	
7.	Erkkilä, Eino Fridrihinp. (1908 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
8.	Ernest (Erni), Kalle Oskarinp. (1895 – 22 Apr. 1938)	
9.	Eskola, Samuel Juhonp. (1882 – 28 Dec. 1937)	
10.	Eskolin, August Einar Agustinp. (1894 – 28 Apr. 1938)	
11.	Filpus, Elvira Kaarlont. (1888 – 21 Jan. 1938)	
12.	Filpus, Niilo Onninp. (Ollinp.?) (1880 – 21 Jan. 1938)	Question mark in original.
13.	Finberg, Väinö Kaarlonp. (1892 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
14.	Fors, Antti Matinp. (1878 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
15.	Golberg, Jussi Juhonp. (1891 – 8 May 1938)	
16.	Grandel (Ruohisto), Toivo Viktorinp. (1898 – 9 Jan. 1938)	
17.	Hakkarainen, August Olavinp. (1901 – 28 Dec. 1937)	
18.	Halme, Iivari Iisakinp. (1885 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
19.	Halonen, Väinö Oskarinp. (*1891 – 9 Jan. 1938)	*Date from Haynes & Klehr (2003).
20.	Hannula, Andrew Osvaldinp. (1913 – 28 Dec. 1937)	
21.	Hannula, Nikolai Matinp. (*1902 – 10 Feb. 1938)	*Date from Haynes & Klehr (2003).
22.	Heikkinen, Jack (Jaakko) Matinp. (1895 – 20 Jan. 1938)	**23.** After Jack Heikkinen's name, Haynes & Klehr (2003) include one Heikilla, Artur Matveevich (Matti) [Russified name] (1892 – 8 May 1938), but this name does not appear in Mayme's published list.
24.	Heikkinen, Väinö Erikinp. (1908 – 21 Jan. 1938)	

25.	Heimonen, Edward-Juho Abelinp. (1887 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
26.	Heino, Frank (Frans Luther) Juhonp. (1887 – 22 Apr. 1938)	
27.	Helander, Yrjö Niilo Antinp. (1899 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
28.	Helin, Evert Einar Teponp. (1888 – 28 Dec. 1938)	
29.	Hendrickson, Axel (Aleksanteri) Teponp. (1893 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
30.	Hendrickson, Juho Matinp. (1886 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
31.	Henell, Benjamin Jaakonp. (1905 – 9 Jan. 1938)	
32.	Herrala, Erkki Edward Antoninp. (1896 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
33.	Hill (Mäki), Helen Oskarint. (1917 – 22 Apr. 1938)	
34.	Hilli (Mäki), Oskar Henrikinp. (1888 – 15 May 1938)	In their list Haynes and Kehr (2003) spelled this surname, "Hilli," as "Hill," the same as the surname on the previous and subsequent lines.
35.	Hill, Otto Matinp. (1890 – 21 Apr. 1938)	
36.	Hiltunen, Jaakko Juhonp. (1881 – 21 Jan. 1938)	**37.** After Jaako Hiltunen's name, Haynes & Klehr (2003) include one Honkanen, William Johannesvich [Russified name] (1903 – 9 Jan. 1938), but this name does not appear in Mayme's published list.
38.	Huuki, Kalle Kallenp. (*1898 – 28 Dec. 1938)	*Sevander lists the date of death as 28 Dec. 1937, but Haynes & Klehr (2003) indicate 28 Dec. 1938. **39.** After Kalle Hukki's name, Haynes & Klehr (2003) include one Huttunen, David Simovich [Russified name] (1884 – 21 Apr. 1938), but this name does not appear in Mayme's published list.
40.	Isaakson, Tuomas Tuomaksenp. (1894 -3 Apr. 1938)	
41.	Jokela, Johan Erikinp (Eeronp.) (1883 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
42.	Jormalainen, Alpo Heikinp. (1910 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
43.	Järvenpää, Eero Matinp. (1905 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
44.	Jääskeläinen, Juho Davidinp. (1884 – 8 May 1938)	
45.	Kaartinen, Eino Antinp. (1912 – 21 Apr. 1938)	
46.	Kaartinen, Matti Alfredinp. (1907 – 28 Dec. 1937)	
47.	Kaipainen, Johan Juhonp. (1887 – 21 Jan. 1938)	
48.	Kajander (Kajanen), Niilo Davindinp. (1901 – 22 Apr. 1938)	
49.	Kallio, Arvid Valentininp. (1888 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
50.	Kallio, Julius (Jumus) Antinp. (1891 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
51.	Kangas, Matti Erkinp. (1904 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
52.	Kari (Siren), John Johaninp. (1915 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
53.	Karlsson, Kaarlo Arturinp. (1894 – 8 May 1938)	**54.** After Kaarlo Karlsson's name, Haynes & Klehr (2003) include one Karlstedt, Viktor Maurivich [Russified name] (1892 – 10 Feb. 1938), but this name does not appear in Mayme's published list.
55.	Kemppainen, Valdemar Jussinp. (1883 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
56.	Ketola, Eino Vilhonp. (1891 – 10 Feb. 1938)	

57.	Kinnunen (Koivulehto). Otto Niilonp. (Nikolainp.) (1894 – 21 Jan. 1938)	
58.	Kivistö, Karl Juhonp. (1896 – 6 Mar. 1938)	
59.	Koivu, Onni Aleksanterinp. (Leanterinp.) (1914 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
60.	Koivuluoma, Jaako Joonaksenp. (1897 – 22 Apr. 1938)	
61.	Korpi, Arvo Juhonp. (1892 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
62.	Korpi, Jaakko Jonaksenp. (1898 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
63.	Korpi, Oskar Aleksanterinp. (1891 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
64.	Kortes (Lähdeskorpi), Viktor Maurinp. (1892 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
65.	Koskelainen, Aleksanteri Juhonp. (*1899 – 11 Feb. 1938)	*Sevander lists the year of birth as 1889, but Haynes & Klehr (2003) indicate 1899.
66.	Koski, Kalli Villenp. (1888 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
67.	Kuusela (Kakkonen), Antti Jaakonp. (1893 – 6 Mar. 1938)	
68.	Laakso, Toivo Osipovich (Ossinp.?) (1892 – 21 Apr. 1938)	Question mark in original. **69.** After Toivo Laakso's name, Haynes & Klehr (2003) include one Laakso, Uuno (Niva Einari) Ionovich (Joonas) [Russified name] (1900 – 11 Feb. 1938), but this name does not appear in Mayme's published list.
70.	Laine, Wilho (Enoch) Vilhelminp. (1901 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
71.	Laitinen, Martti Alfredinp. (1902 – 9 Jan. 1938)	
72.	Laukkanen, Antti Albininp. (1891 – 5 Mar. 1938)	
73.	Lehto, Väinö (1904 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
74.	Lehtola (Lehto), Väinö Antinp. (1912 – 28 Apr. 1938)	
75.	Leinonen, Vilho (Viljo) Matinp. (*1891 – 11 Jan. 1938)	*Sevander lists the date of death as 21 Jan. 1938, but Haynes & Klehr (2003) indicate 11 Jan. 1938.
76.	Leivo, Hugo Harmanninp. (1888 – 3 Apr. 1938)	**77**. After Hugo Leivo's name, Haynes & Klehr (2003) include one Levanen, Abel Aleksandrovich [Russified name] (1883 – 28 Apr. 1938), but this name does not appear in Mayme's published list.
78.	Lindquist, Otto Kustaanp. (1887 – 5 Mar. 1938)	
79.	Lumio, Toivo Davidinp. (1886 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
80.	Luoma, Lauri Mikonp. (*1895 – 6 Mar. 1938)	*Sevander lists the year of birth as 1898, but Haynes & Klehr (2003) indicate 1895.
81.	Makkonen, Kalle Juhonp. (*1899 – 6 Mar. 1938)	*Sevander lists the year of birth as 1898, but Haynes & Klehr (2003) indicate 1899.
82.	Mattson, Eino Walfredinp. (1909 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
83.	Mattson, Henry (Heikki) Arteminp. (1891 – 8 May 1938)	
84.	Merilä, Leo Teponp. (1886 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
85.	Moisio, Jaakko Johaninp. (1877 – 6 Mar. 1938)	
86.	Multamäki, Johan Juhonp (1880 – 22 Apr. 1938)	
87.	Mylläri, Otto Kallenp. (1898 – 6 Mar. 1938)	

88.	Mäki, George (Yrjö) Karpinp. (1888 – 22 Apr. 1938)	**89.** Haynes & Klehr (2003) also include one Maki, Juho Matveevich (Matti) [Russified name] (1879 – 11 Feb. 1938), but this name does not appear in Mayme's published list. I have alphabetized the name within the Finnish-spelled surname, Mäki, placing it immediately after George Mäki.
90.	Mäki, Walter Walterinp. (1907 – 15 May 1938)	
91.	Mäntylä, Toivo Mikonp. (1911 – 8 May 1938)	
92.	Nahkala, Juho Heikinp. (1884 – 22 Apr. 1938)	
93.	Nelson (Poukkula), Enoch Jaakonp. (1897 – 5 Mar. 1938)	
94.	Niemi, Antti Johaninp. (1886 – 6 Mar. 1938)	
95.	Nikander, Svante Kustaanp. (1882 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
96.	Niva, Emil Nikodemuksenp. (1882 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
97.	Oinonen, Eino Otonp. (1906 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
98.	Oja, Elias (Aleksi) Viktorinp. (1892 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
99.	Oksanen (o.s. Porvali), Anna Mikont. (1897 – 21 Apr. 1938)	
100.	Olkinuora, Armas Antinp. (1902 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
101.	Paju, Emil Matinp. (1878 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
102.	Paju, Viktor Emelinp. (1908 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
103.	Peltonen, Kaarlo Kallenp. (1886 – 28 Apr. 1938)	
104.	Pesonen, Feliks Ernestinp. (1895 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
105.	Pietilä, Alfred Johaninp. (1911 – 6 Mar. 1938)	
106.	Pyykkö, Mikko Matinp. (1884 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
107.	Pääkkönen, Matti Pekanp. (1898 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
108.	Rantala, Toivo Iisakinp. (1904 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
109.	Rantaniemi, Toivo Juhonp. (1906 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
110.	Rautio, Antti Uunonp. (1909 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
111.	Ruuskanen, Uuno Paulinp. (1908 – 9 Jan. 1938)	
112.	Saarenpää, Solomon Mikonp. (1881 – 9 Jan. 1938)	
113.	Saastamoinen, Robert Robertinp. (1888 – 10 Jan. 1938)	
114.	Salmi, Kalle Rikhardinp. (1897 – 21 Jan. 1938)	
115.	Salminen, Eino Kaarlonp. (1901 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
116.	Salminen, Eino Kustaanp. (1906 – 22 Apr. 1938)	
117.	Salminen, Richard Nikolainp. (1883 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
118.	Salo, Simo Simonp. (1890 – 6 Mar. 1938)	
119.	Salo, Yrjö Pekanp. (1898 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
120.	Salonen, Toivo Kustaanp.	

	(1904 – 21 Jan. 1938)	
121.	Saviniemi, Elis Teodor Heikinp. (1898 – 8 May 1938)	
122.	Silvan (Roitomaa), Rafael Väinönp. (1916 – 5 Mar. 1938)	
123.	Solkela, Severi (Seth) Jaakonp. (1902 – 9 Jan. 1938)	
124.	Tabel, Eino Iisak Abelinp. (1904 – 21 Jan. 1938)	
125.	Tamminen, Toivo Frederikinp. (1887 – 6 Mar. 1938)	
126.	Tenhunen, Matti Pekanp. (*1883 – 28 Dec. 1937)	*Sevander lists the year of birth as 1887, but Haynes & Klehr (2003) indicate 1883.
127.	Terhonen, Johan Martinp. (1903 – 11 Feb. 1938)	
128.	Tolonen, Eino Beniamininp. (1888 – 28 Apr. 1938)	**129.** After Eino Tolonen's name, Haynes & Klehr (2003) added Tuomainen, Aksel Juhovich [Russified name] (1895 – 28 Dec. 1937), but this name does not appear in Mayme's published list.
130.	Tuominen, Väinö Heikinp. (1904 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
131.	Tuominen, Yrjö (George) Anselm Viktorinp. (1896 – 28 Dec. 1937)	
132.	Turunen, Toivo Otonp. (1912 – 20 Jan. 1938)	
133.	Unkuri (Bergman), Juho Nikitanp. (1891 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
134.	Uutela, Emil Matinp. (1890 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
135.	Wallin, (Wallen), August Martinp. (1878 – 10 Feb. 1938)	
136.	Viger, Gabriel Iisakinp. (1885 – 10 Feb. 1938)	**137.** After Gabriel Viger's name, Haynes & Klehr (2003) include one Viitanen, Yrjo Karlovitch [Russified name] (1899 – 6 Mar. 1938), but this name does not appear in Mayme's published list.
138.	Vuori, Jaakko Viktorinp. (1912 – 9 Jan. 1938)	
139.	Vähäkari (Vähkäri), Oskari Hanneksenp. (1900 – 28 Dec. 1937)	
140.	Väänänen, Kaarlo Juhonp. (1905 – 3 Apr. 1938)	
141.	Ylitalo, Jaakko Kustaanp. (1898 – 10 Feb. 1938)	

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